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the worker

FOR A WORKERS' REPUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

FINE GAEL WANTS DEAR FOOD

Mr. Clinton, the Coalition Minister for Agriculture, wants higher food prices. He came back from his talks with Ministers of EEC countries in Burssels last month complaining that he couldn't get what he wanted.

Clinton stated that his demands and those of the British government were absolutely opposed. The British want to maintain their cheap food policy inside the EEC. Clinton – looking after the interests of the farmers – wants a dear policy.

Clinton was representing Irish farmers – he didn't claim to represent anybody else. Last year, agricultural prices went up 20 per cent. They were the biggest cause of the 17 per cent rise in food prices over the same 12 months. It seems this is not enough for Mr. Clinton.

FREE HAND TO PUSH UP PRICES

The Coalition promised to take VAT off food – remember? No doubt we will hear something about that when the Budget is announced. But in the meantime grocers and supermarkets have a free hand to push up prices as far as they can, so that when VAT is taken off they will lose nothing. They may even gain. Prices will appear to fall when compared with a week or two before but in fact the grocers themselves will be getting more.

Another thing that is happening is this: the national prices commission may allow a 5 per cent increase in the price of an item (e.g. Lyons Tea), but the increase for the shopper is ten per cent. That means more for the shop-owners.

A worker in a Dublin factory talking to us recently described how he went with his wife every Thursday to do the shopping. "I think I have to do it to get an idea of what housewives have to deal with", he said. "I get angrier and angrier each time. I have seen the same bottle of lime go up from 8p to 9p to 11p and finally to 14p all within the space of five weeks. That's only a small thing, but it's happening with lots of other things as well".

"That cost of living increase in the National Wage Agreement is an insult", he said.

...and Labour wants another Wage Agreement

Insult or not, Michael O'Leary, the trade union official who became a government minister, is preparing ground for another National Wage Agreement. In a speech given last month he spoke at length of the subject of 'social partnership', echoing the ideas of the Central Bank on the 'social contract'.

Last month the paper of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union 'Liberty', greeted the election of the Coalition government as a 'triumph' for the people'. In particular, the union leaders (they are responsible for what goes into the paper – not the rank-and-file membership) were enthusiastic about the possibility of having a union member in the government. Now that smooth man Michael O'Leary, who once worked for the Transport Union, is in the government they must be feeling pleased with themselves.

O'Leary has made it clear that he expects the fullest co-operation from them in getting a new Wage Agreement. Faced with the combined forces of banks, businessmen, Labour Party ministers, and union leaders, workers will have to make sure that there is organised opposition to the National Wage Agreement. The preparations are starting now. We have to get ready to throw the whole plan out, and make the unions withdraw from the Employer-Labour Conference.

Not surprisingly, O'Leary is getting support from the highest quarters in Irish business. D. J. McAuley, the director-general of the Federated Union of Employers, has also been going on about the need for a new National Wage Agreement, and the need to strengthen the 'tripartite aspect' of the work of the Employer-Labour Conference. No matter how they dress up these ideas with talk of 'worker participation, and so on, the intentions behind these partnerships, contracts, and so on, are clear: *get the union leaders to take responsibility for improving the profits of capitalist businesses; get the union leaders to keep the 'irresponsible' elements in check.*

A lot of union section and branch general meetings are taking place at this time of the year; we have to use these and all opportunities to make sure no National Wage Agreement is ever pushed through again. We also have to make sure that the 'social partnership' of bosses, government, and union leaders is ended by demanding a union boycott of the Employer-Labour Conference and, instead of the class collaboration by the unions, a campaign for £30 for 35 hours.

MAY DAY INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' DAY

Italian workers on the march for a new wages contract and against the Andreotti government. The banner in the background says: 'The working class knows no borders. North and South united in the struggle. ' That is the unity we must build in Ireland too.

NORTHERN ELECTIONS: SOCIALIST STAND NEEDED

The Alliance Party loved it; Cardinal Conway plugged it. The Unionists had reservations: the SDLP had criticisms.

What was it?

The British White Paper on the North. Its praise has been sung by the rich and comfortable throughout Ireland. They have seen what is behind the plan – 'tidying up' capitalist control of Ireland, North and South.

The British government have made it clear that they do not want to have Unionist one-party rule continue in the North. That causes too many problems – not least the cost of keeping an army there to suppress the minority who have rebelled against the state.

The British Ruling Class are not saying that they want to withdraw, or leave the economic and political control to somebody else. With investments in the Six Counties worth £7,000 million bringing them £500 million profit each year, that's no surprise.

The old Unionist dictatorship is clearly at an end – now to be replaced by a more obvious dictatorship of the whole capitalist class, not just one section of it. By offering some say in the running of the state to the middle class Catholics of the SDLP, the British hope to convince Catholic workers too that they have gained some control.

What they are really aiming to do is to make those Catholic workers into passive voting fodder for the respectable compromisers. They want to get them off the streets, and away from supporting the IRA. The British government intends to pursue the war against the IRA as ruthlessly as ever, with the active support of the Southern government.

Lifting the ban on the Official Republican Clubs is part of the attempt to drag the republicans and their supporters on to the safe ground of parliamentary politics. The tragedy would be if the republicans 'played ball'. Both wings of the Republican Movement have rejected the White Paper, but little that they have said could convince us that they have seen the importance of detaching themselves from the aims and the methods of the middle-class elements who will sell out to the British ruling class.

The Provisionals object that the 'Irish Dimension' has receded, and the Officials say that the new Assembly will still be under the dictatorship of Mr. Whitelaw. This is true but is that the essential thing?

Strengthening the push towards Irish unity or giving the Assembly more powers would not change the situation much. Any parliamentary Assembly under capitalism (whether it governs 26 or 32 counties) is a facade which conceals the real power – the power of the capitalists who control the economy and the state.

The only possible answer to the British plans is on a working class basis, rejecting not only the brutal military repression and the continuing political control by the British ruling class, but the very foundations of that repression and control – the exploitation of the whole working class in industry and the services.

BALLOT BOX

That does not mean that there must be no participation in elections. On the contrary, the election platfrom could be used to destroy the illusions which many people have that changes can come through the ballot box. The election platform could be used to remind people in the North that the SDLP, and others like them, have tricked and betrayed them at every turn. The election platform could be used to bring home the message of working class action, in the workplaces, and in the housing estates. The important thing is not to get people elected, but to use the occasion for putting forward socialist propaganda.

During the period of the 'free areas' the Catholic working class people learned something of their own potential. They did not have to rely on the ruling class leaders. They could carry the lessons of that time to the loyalist workers, who now find themselves shunted and shoved between warring political factions of power-hungry politicians.

It would be a tragedy if the republicans' desire for 'legality' led them to play the reformist game on the 'reformists' terms. The Provisional are carrying on their military campaign as if nothing had happened. The Officials, too are more and more placing all the emphasis on Irish unity and British withdrawal – in isolation from any working-class perspective

The British White Paper has split open the Loyalist ranks and has confused the Catholics. It makes the intentions of the British ruling class clearer than ever. It also makes clear the urgent need to spell out a socialist alternative to the bit-by-bit politics or the blow-it-all-up politics of those who have up to now led the fight against imperialism.

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READ INSIDE: Exclusive story on Britain's bank robbers in Ireland (p.4)
Feature on the Waterford Glass way of life (p.3)

WORKERS TAKE POWER

PART SIX in a series on the history of socialism

Contrary to what many socialists expected, it was in a backward country, Russia, that revolutionary socialism first bore lasting fruit. The revolution of October 1917 was the most important break-through in world history for a whole age. The workers exercised political and economic power through the Soviets and through the Bolshevik Party. In the next article in this series we will deal with Ireland in the same period - the 1916 Rising, the War of Independence, and big labour battles.

Throughout Europe in the decade before World War 1, there had been a series of massive working class struggles which threatened the capitalist regimes. The war acted as a brake on these, and the mass workers' parties, the Social Democrats, came to the rescue of their ruling classes by supporting the war effort, instead of adopting the revolutionary position of 'turn the imperialist war into a civil war' between capitalists and workers.

Only in Russia, the weakest of all the capitalist states, did the working class come to power. In February 1917 the Tsarist regime was overthrown by a people who were fed up with the war and who wanted peace, food and land. The working class organised Soviets, or Workers' Councils, as they had previously done in the revolution of 1905, but the real power fell to the middle class. Their unwillingness to end the war, their inability to fulfil any of their promises, and their continual retreats in the face of the Tsarist counter revolution forced many workers to support the view that another revolution was needed – this time with the workers in control. In these conditions, the revolutionary socialist party, the Bolsheviks, gained tremendous strength, and eventually, a majority in the soviets.

Lenin had spent 15 years building the party as an organisation of the most class-conscious militant workers in preparation for the day when the workers would have to seize power for themselves. The more the liberal middle class retreated, the more the Bolsheviks appreciated the need for an immediate workers' revolution.

BOLSHEVIKS

In October 1917 the working class took power in an almost bloodless revolution. They ruled through the Soviets under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and promising 'peace, bread and land'. Land for the peasants was a necessary part of the struggle for power. The peasants formed 80 per cent of the population and without their help the revolution would have been impossible. But, equally, without the spreading of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries, their support could not always be relied upon.

Immediately after the revolution, the old rulers, the deposed middle class, and the imperialist ruling classes of almost every European country who owned vast wealth in Russia, attempted to take power out of the hands of the working class by organising a counter revolution. 12 foreign armies invaded Russia.

The Bolshevik Red Army organised and led by Trotsky, won a heroic victory over the reactionary forces. The civil war had ruined industry, however, and decimated the working class – the class which had made the revolution. The state structure created by the revolution remained, and the Bolsheviks found themselves ruling on behalf of a class which had virtually ceased to exist. The Soviets could not function, and under the war conditions opposition groups were banned. To run the state the Bolsheviks had to recruit huge numbers of non socialists, many of whom had earlier served the Tsar. Lenin had warned of the dangers of bureaucratic control before his death. After his death, Stalin came to power on the basis of the new functionaries – the apparatus men.

FAILURE

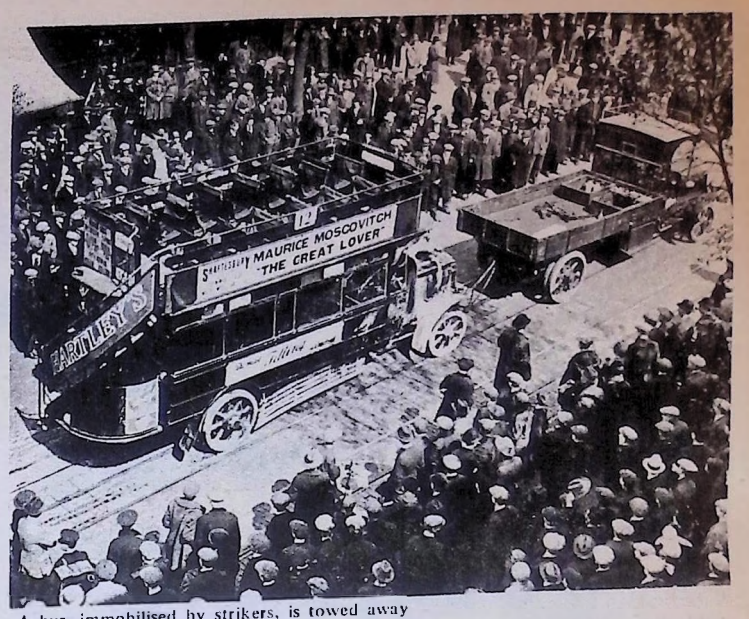
The failure of the revolution to spread forced the Bolsheviks to retreat at home and give concessions to the peasants. The New Economic Policy restored a degree of private commodity production which enabled them to sell farm produce on a free market. In 1918, Lenin had insisted, 'The absolute truth is that without a revolution in Germany we shall perish

The rot was already setting in.

By 1924 Stalin had dropped the internationalist perspective and was aiming at building 'socialism in one country'. For a long time this meant giving concessions to the peasants. The Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, advocated industrialisation and heavy taxes on rich peasants. The industrialisation was to be based on workers' control and an extension of democracy in the Party. The spreading of the revolution was also one of the main planks in their platform.

In 1928 Stalin finally moved against the peasants in favour of rapid industrialisation, but he did so without restoring any power to the working class. Massive force had to be used against the peasants to forcefully collectivise agriculture. This move against the peasants was, for Stalin, the final consolidation of the power of the class he represented. He had finally established the counter revolution in complete power.

Those who had constituted the revolutionary party of 1917 were murdered. Revolutionaries were sent to Siberia as in Tsarist times. The counter revolution which brought Stalin to power had been made possible by the decimation of the Russian working class, the destruction of their industry, and the failure of workers' revolution in Europe.



A bus, immobilised by strikers, is towed away

General Strike in Britain

Britain in 1926 saw a massive revolt by the working class. Years of industrial militancy, before, during and after World War 1 culminated in a General Strike.

The British ruling class was desperately trying to restore their world position of pre-war days. To do so they had first to attack the working class. Baldwin, the Prime Minister, said, "all the workers in this country have got to take a reduction in wages to help put industry on its feet."

The first attack was aimed at the miners, who were threatened with a wage cut. The Government was forced to retreat however, and offer a subsidy to the mine owners to keep wages up for nine months, when the railwaymen's and transport workers' unions promised solidarity with the miners.

For the next nine months the capitalist prepared for full scale class war against the workers. They set up the Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies – a body of 'gentlemen scabs' which drew heavily on fascist support.

The Trade Union leaders, however, did absolutely nothing in preparation for the battle that was obviously coming. When the mine-owners threatened to lock out the workers on May 1st unless the wage cuts went ahead, the Union leaders talked of a General Strike, but at the same time tried to negotiate a settlement with the Tory Government.

Finally, the Trade Union leaders did call the strike, and the response was massive. Industries shut down all over Britain; the trains stopped; the docks were at a standstill; workers defence corps were organised; there were no newspapers. The Government responded with a huge show of force. Troops marched through the streets of London; machine gun placements were set up at strategic points.

After nine days the Trade Union bosses called off the strike, using the excuse that workers were returning to their jobs. That was a clear lie: after nine days the strike was more solid than ever; 99 per cent of the railwaymen were still out.

The reason for the sell out is partly to be found in the attitudes of the leaders. Pugh had tried to negotiate a secret settlement behind the strikers backs. Ben Tillet had been literally bought off by the ruling class. Thomas hob-nobbed with the big industrialists.

The defeat in the General Strike was the worst defeat suffered by the working class for generations. It paved the way for the takeover of the unions by the right wing bureaucrats, and it enabled the capitalists to bind the working class, through the unions, more tightly to the state than at any time before.

Above: Red Guards warm themselves at a street corner

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS DEFEATED

The years after the first World War were years of unprecedented revolutionary upheaval throughout Europe, and the world. Mass strikes and uprisings occurred from China to South America. White workers revolted in South Africa. The word 'soviet' was on everyone's lips. Revolts in the colonies worried the capitalist classes of Europe as much as did revolutions on their own doorsteps. The Bolsheviks, who had led a successful revolution in Russia, were confident that the world would soon follow. And yet all came to nothing. Nowhere outside of Russia was the working class successful. Their isolation led to their defeat.

In November the German working class rose against the war, and against the capitalist system that created it. But without the leadership of a hardened revolutionary party, they were unable to seize power. It fell to the Social Democrats (SPD) who had supported the war and who were totally pro-capitalist. The workers rose again in January 1919 when 100,000 workers too over the streets of Berlin. The revolutionary leadership, the Spartacists, led by Rosa Luxemburg, were too weak however, to carry the revolt to victory. The SPD turned the army loose on the rebels, and massacred them.

AUSTRIA

In Austria the Monarchy was overthrown and the Social Democrats were in power. In Hungary, March 1919, a Soviet Republic was established under the leadership of Bela Kun. There had been no seizure of power by the working class. The previous government had simply abdicated. The ruling party failed to hand land over to the peasants, and, faced with threatened and real intervention, itself gave up power. The reactionary Admiral Horthy invaded and set himself up as ruler.

In Bavaria in April 1919, a Soviet Republic was set up. But Kurt Eisner its leader was a reformist, and failed to mobilise the working class in defence of the republic. It collapsed within a short time. In Italy there were mass strikes and factory occupations. Soviets appeared, but again without the co-ordination of a large revolutionary party, it was soon swept aside with the rise of Mussollini's fascist dictatorship. In Britain, and elsewhere, soldiers returning from the benches mutinied and tens of thousands of workers struck.

Germany was still the key to international revolution however. In March 1920 there was a successful putsch by the reactionary General Kapp. A general strike forced Kapp to hand power back to the SPD. They immediately turned their guns on the workers who had forced Kapp to retreat, and once more inflicted a severe defeat on the chances of socialist revolution. The small German Communist party had proved itself unready for the situation.

One year later under the orders of the Comintern, the leading body of the Third (Communist) International, the German Communist Party called for an armed insurrection by workers in March 1921. The 'March Action' was a disastrous failure. The party had tried to act without the class. The SPD, now in coalition with thorough reactionaries, hit back hard. In 1923 the French invasion of the Ruhr coal fields set yet another revolt in action. After the Government called off passive resistance, the Ruhr workers struck. Thousands of communist workers were armed and the Party prepared for power. The Government of Saxony which contained Communists was overthrown, and the Communist Party banned.

The final defeat was followed rapidly by the victory of Stalin in Russia, and the adoption of the policy of 'socialism in one country'. From now on socialist revolutions abroad were discouraged rather than supported. In 1926-7 when the Chinese workers were prepared for revolution they were ordered to join in with the bourgeois nationalists to set up a 'progressive' capitalist state. They did so, and the capitalists, once in power, turned on them and murdered over a million communist workers.

It was always clear to the best Bolsheviks that, although the Russian workers could seize power, they could not hold onto it unless the revolution spread to the advanced capitalist countries. The failure of the revolutions in Europe meant that Russia was isolated. In these conditions their revolution was doomed to failure. In these conditions Stalin built his dictatorship.

M.M.

Waterford is a way of life. **-SAY THE ADS**

WHAT A WAY OF LIFE

To the unemployed or redundant worker in Waterford, a city with some fourteen hundred on the dole and where last year alone some seven hundred people were made redundant a job with Waterford Glass seems an attractive proposition indeed.

The idea of Waterford Glass as a fair and good employer, offering high rates of pay and excellent conditions has for long been spoken about in Waterford, not least by the management and owners of the company themselves!

Last year, profits again rose by 23 per cent – up to nearly £2½ million. This shows clearly the successes the management has had in pushing up each worker's output.

In the Company's annual report for 1966, the Chairman, Mr. Patrick McGrath, had these fine words to say about the workers "No-one could pay adequate tribute to the loyalty of all those employed in Waterford Glass Ltd., or pay sufficient compliment to the pride they have in their product and the spirit of co-operation that pervades the factory". This statement is typical of the game that the management of Waterford Glass play to win the loyalty of the workers.

As a "progressive Management" they have cleverly thought up other ideas. These include:

1. A share holding scheme by selling the workers convertible loan notes. Noel Griffin, the Managing Director likes to tell the workers that they own part of the factory, but in effect the workers will own a mere one per cent in 1974 and will have no effective say whatsoever;

2. A sport and social centre. It is a condition of your employment that you become a member of this club;

3. The last and most important of these so-called services is the willingness of the management to go guarantor for the employees and to deduct at source the repayments for all the Banks, Finance Corporations etc. that the workers can get into debt with. This has to some extent been curtailed because of the complete and utter confusion in the computer department and the new-found theory that a worker who is so much in debt will worry so much that his output will drop.

This last service was a conscious attempt by management to tie the workers to 'their' factory by giving them every opportunity to get themselves in debt and therefore put a damper on any kind of militancy.

This, combined with the above Sports and Social Centre, factory Brass Band etc. was the management's way of completely controlling the worker, both in and out of work, therefore making "Waterford a way of life" for the worker.

General workers (considered by the management to be unskilled) get a basic wage of £21.95 plus bonus. In spite of the image of Waterford Glass workers as the highest paid in the town, this rate is below that paid in some other industries in Waterford This doesn't even take into account the nature of the work, and the foul conditions under which it is done.

At the time of the first and only major strike in the factory, in 1965 – when the union, the Amalgamated Transport and General :Workers Union refused to make the dispute official – management were able to beat the workers by a well-worn divide and conquer tactic.

During the next few years, there was increasing anger and tension in the craft departments over the piece-rate systems. The blowers and cutters who up till then had been bitterly divided, came together and began to work out demands together. After months of arguments and discussion a new payment system was negotiated. If the rates for craft workers are now above average rates for skilled workers, then they have no one to thank for that but their own effort.

As yet, the improved conditions of the craft workers has not benefitted the general workers, of whom several hundred slave on high speed production lines, providing the auxiliary services to the craft shops. The general rate of £21 plus bonus for males, and £13 for females, is scandalous in a firm which makes at least £10 profit out of each worker per week. The general workers have not had a strong organisation, and have not yet realised their own strength. Some of these workers work under atrocious conditions – for instance, the girls in the blowing area.

Noel Griffin, Managing Director of Waterford Glass:

Personally I do not like using either of the words, employee or worker, as I regard everyone in the industry as a partner and consider we are all workers, whether it be at the highest level of management or the youngest apprentice.

In the past few weeks the general workers have been pushing for wage increases. Some have put forward the demand for a minimum wage of £30. But the weakness of the section's representation with the whole factory, as well as the confusing role played by the full-time union official has meant that the movement was stopped in its tracks.

The basis is clearly there in Waterford Glass for all sections of workers to help each other to improve conditions and rates, and slow down the ridiculous speeds. The time has come to by-pass the absurd divisions and build an effective representation for all the workers in the factory. Let's never allow the divide and rule tactic to be used again.

GLASS WORKER

THE IRISH CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

This ad appeared in the American businessmen's paper, 'Wall Street Journal' claiming to give an unconditional welcome to all foreign companies - on your behalf!

GALWAY INDUSTRIAL ESTATE: NOT SO GLOSSY INSIDE

"In Crown Control, like every other factory, you are just part of the machine. They give you a number and keep making you push up productivity. You come out in the evenings bored, frustrated and tired. Conditions are lousy and wages just allow you to scrape a living. It is no wonder that many of the fellows leave after a year or two". That is the inside of Crown Control seen by a worker – not the glossy image of the expanding friendly firm usually presented in the papers.

There are about ten men working as setter-operators – they set the machine and operate them, They are only getting paid for operating the machine – they are done out of an extra £2 a week. Where does the money go? Guess.

The average wage for the whole factory is about £25. That is about enough to scrape a living if you have a wife and family or if you just want to go out a few nights a week. Some of the men want to do overtime to boost the wage. But in Crown Control overtime has become a privilege. You might get one and a half times normal pay but the bosses expect you to double productivity. In the morning they look at your production sheet. If it is not high enough they won't ask you again to do overtime.

Conditions in the machine shop are bad. With machines continually cutting steel for the fork lift and other machine parts the floor is covered in steel shavings (swarf). On top of this, cooling oil is flowing on to the machine and then on to the floor. So the floor is covered in grime, dust, and oil. It rots the shoes of the workers so that as many as four pairs of shoes are needed every year. No boots or overalls are supplied by the management.

When you finish work you might expect to find showers to wash down. Not a hope. The oil on the floor can be seen evaporating upwards in the sunlight, but there are no decent washing facilities. On top of all this you have a ferocious noise. When you work there a few years you are bound to deafen a little unless your ears too are made of steel.

The only union in the factory is the A.U.E.W. The only good thing the union can claim to have won is a number of safety measures. However, accidents still occur. Burns are frequent and the company only pays the minimum if you fall out. The

When a worker comes to the factory first the bosses make no effort to find you a place to live. Many workers come up from the country every day in their cars, travelling back and forth from work. They get no allowance.

CONDITIONS

Conditions at Crown Control can easily be improved. Workers can demand the employment of more labourers; they can demand showers; they can demand travel allowances. The management could have met these demands long ago. They didn't for one reason, however. They fear that if the workers become union-conscious and think they can force the bosses' hand over one thing they will soon be demanding other things like a decent wage.

The trade union is only what the workers make it. They must now stand up and use the union as a weapon. It is clear that the bosses do not want to dig out of their profits to improve conditions. They must be forced to. Workers only take on another two hours of boring repetitious work of overtime because the wages aren't enough. This is the way the bosses want it. They get more production if the workers work longer hours.

Conditions and wages are now the two central issues that face Crown Control workers. They must face up to them.

CONFUSION ON THE PICKET

Maintenance men at the National Board and Paper Mills Factory in Waterford were angered recently when on 29th March one of their colleagues was sacked. The dispute arose when the Chief Engineer, the head of the engineering department, criticised a charge-hand fitter because he was supposed to be spending too long on one particular job. "Words" passed between the two which led to the fitter being sacked.

His work-mates in the craft sections immediately stopped work and demanded a meeting with the management for the re-instatement of the worker. A meeting was arranged and it lasted all morning. The Chief Engineer apologised for his behaviour but the management expected the worker to apologise as well. He refused to do so, and his work-mates supported him.

Pickets were placed on the factory gate at 1.30 in the afternoon. By this time the electricians' union, the E.T.U., had made the strike official but the other craft unions had not done so. Clerical workers and supervisors (members of the I.T.G.W.U.) coming back from lunch refused to pass the pickets. Workers who had been at work since the morning, however, did not come out when the pickets were placed. The policy of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions on "unofficial" strikes and "all-out" strike action lies at the root of this confusion.

Women workers coming in for the 3 o'clock shift also respected the pickets. At this stage it seemed certain that the 4 o'clock shift would do the same. It was too much for the management; they backed down and re-instated the worker. The strike had lasted for a little over one and a half hours.

This incident demonstrates that during a trade dispute no amount of talking through the Labour Court can replace the most effective weapon of the organized working class -- the strike weapon backed with mass solidarity from other workers.

JOURNALISTS DEFEND THEIR JOBS

Last month two of the Dublin newspapers were affected by journalists' strike action. At the Irish Independent, the journalists were objecting to the terms and conditions of their continued employment in the context of a takeover bid for the Independent group by Tony O'Reilly. They eventually received assurances on the jobs from him.

In the Irish Press group seven journalists were sacked for refusing to deal with the copy of one Gay Byrne. This dispute was also won by the journalists.

Although the Independent journalists were also sacked because they pressed for guarantees by means of a sit-in, the two disputes were about separate issues. However, the discussion and solidarity displayed by journalists in the two papers showed many points of similarity and lessons for other workers.

The Independent journalists issued a colourful statement in which they referred to workers in a takeover situation as "bonded slaves" to be handed over with plant and machinery to the new owners. Many workers who have been "taken over" will know how right that is. What distinguished the Independent journalists action however, was that they occupied their place of work as a surety for these demands. This was something quite novel for journalists and a very useful tactic for other workers.

The Independent journalists, however, were unable to convince the craft workers and printers in the Independent or the Press of the strength of their case and its relevance to all workers in the industry. In spite of spontaneous support from individuals from within the plant, and indeed outside it; (Dublin Port dockers sent cases of fruit to lighten the financial burden of sitting in) they were left in isolation.

The fulltime officials of the Irish Graphical Society (the main Dublin printers union) disgraced their members by their slavish acceptance of management promises and even more by their vicious attacks on the journalists at the Joint Industrial Council where they, in effect, acted as management spokesmen. The I.G.S., and I.T.G.W.U. officials were particularly angry about the unofficial action of the journalists in the newspapers. "What would we do", they asked, "if our lads were to take the same kind of action?" Truly it appears that they see their job as one of managing rather than of representing the membership.

BROADSHEET

For communicators, the journalists however, were very slow to get their point of view across to the other workers in the industry as well as outside it. The suggestion, for example, of a broadsheet was received enthusiastically, but not carried through. This failure of communication illustrates the strange position of journalists as workers.

It is obviously a white-collar job, although long organised. Within it, there is a variety of roads to managerial jobs as well as to positions where ruling class 'wisdom' is spread around. Historically, there has been a lack of solidarity between journalists and other workers in the newspapers.

Workers who are outraged by the treatment their struggles receive in the media may have scant sympathy for journalists' industrial action. Journalists themselves have been slow to learn of the consequences of the newspaper industry being an integral part of the Capitalist system. Eamonn McCann has described the structure of newspapers under this system as follows:

"Reporters who know what is expected of them; news editors and sub-editors trained to recognise and eliminate 'unhelpful' references; editors appointed with 'sound' attitudes; boards of management composed of substantial businessmen; the whole sprawling machinery of news gethering which automatically filters, repairs and packages the information fed in and works to ensure that the news, as printed, is fit to print".

In this situation, one of the demands of the Independent journalists for a journalist to sit on the board of directors (which was not conceded) seems to me to be a diversion from the task of building a union which will face up both to the structure of newspapers under the present system which systematically distorts the struggles of other workers.

The militancy displayed by Irish journalists over the last year can be channelled by greater emphasis on building democratic factions within the unions and by developing contact with rank and file members of the other unions in the industry. In the meantime both groups of journalists substantially won their cases and the manner of doing so is worth the attention of the wider labour movement.

PAUL GILLESPIE

CONSPIRING TO DEFEND THE STATE

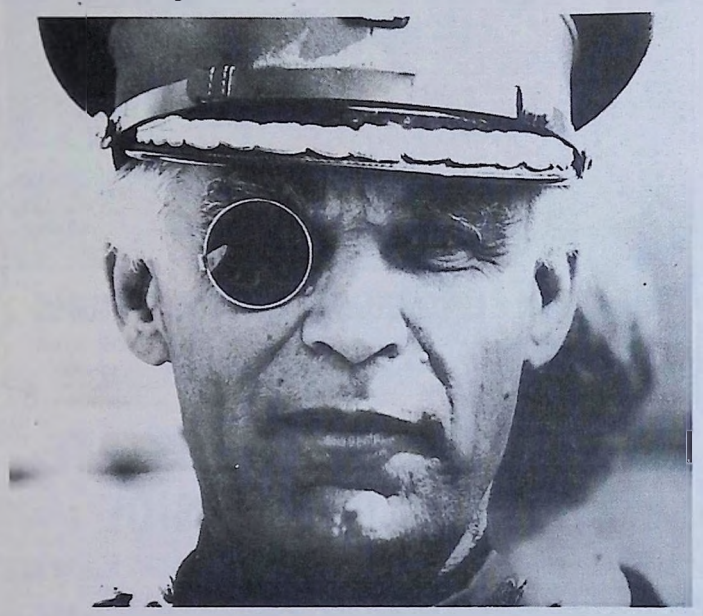
Carrington: defence witness for the Littlejohns

Marx denies that history repeats itself, but this is not to be misunderstood as meaning that Capitalism will not continue to pull the same old tricks out of the bag to get it off the hook in times of crisis.

On Saturday, December 2nd, 1972, Mr. Lynch as Taoiseach was faced with pushing his Amendment to the Offences against the State Act through a divided Dail. Apart from the parliamentary Opposition, he had to reckon with the doubtful position of his own party dissidents. Newspapers were speculating on a defeat for the Government; something had to be done.

On Friday evening a bomb shattered the whole front of Liberty Hall, while another in Sackville Place caused similar extensive damage and killed two passing busmen. In the small hours of Sunday morning the Dail finally passed the Amendment. The Fianna Fail government was safe for the time being, and, as was to be expected, no-one has ever been charged with the explosions.

Throughout the country, there was much whispered speculation as to who was responsible for the explosions. Indeed, it was positively stated by numerous people, that if persons in the direct employment of the Dublin Government had not actually had a hand in it, it was at least possible that they had, with a nod and a wink, connived with some force like the British S.A.S. in the operation.



Baxter, new head of the Ulster Defence Regiment. If the public face of the state forces looks that sinister, what do you think the private face is like?

SUSPICION

No echo of this widely held suspicion came from the public media – though Prionnsias Mac Aonghusa did appear in the "Sunday Press" with an article on the burning of the Reichstag. The idea that Honest Jack or his "Republican Party" could stoop to such means was not to be suggested in public. Consequently, it is curious to look at a series of events which took place in 1939-40.

In December 1939 Britian was at war with Germany and this country was already defending its neutral position to the world. De Valera, as Taoiseach, had, during the years, interned a number of people under his new Offences Against the State Act (1939) – an Act designed specifically to deprive citizens of their constitutional rights at law whenever the Government felt the security of the State to be in danger.

The Act was challenged in the courts in December 1939 and was found to be repugnant to the Constitution. The men interned were released; but the newly appointed Minister for Justice, Mr. Gerard Boland, had no intention of being muzzled by the courts. He told the country that the "subversive elements" of the Republican Movement and others were in collusion with Hitler's High Command and a German invasion was possible.

It was indeed known that Sean Russell (Chief of Staff of the I.R.A.) had travelled to the U.S. on his way to Germany for that purpose and a number of German aliens were already being parachuted into this country. The I.R.A. were known to be actively drilling, and a number of bank robberies showed evidence of their handiwork.

The Dail was due to reassemble in January and it was imperative in the eyes of the Government that they be given the powers already sought under the now debunked Offences against the State Act. An emergency session of the Cabinet, followed by a debate lasting into the small hours of the morning, steamrolled an Amendment through, giving the State its required dictatorial powers.

There was no public outcry, because, by a remarkable fluke, some people had been stupid enough, on Christmas Eve, to raid the Magazine Fort, the national Army's central arms and ammunition depot in the Phoenix Park and made off with tons of weapons in several lorries.

ROUND–UP

An instant round-up of suspects followed and a number of men appeared in court to face charges. The State, presuming that the accused men (all well-known Republicans) would carry on the usual policy of not recognising the court, was caught off-guard, when two men, William Cleary and William Gordon (both late of the Republican Congress) read the situation clearly, refused to participate in the State's pantomime of cops-and-robbers, recognised the court, pleaded innocent on alibis, and left the Dock as free men. The remainder were convicted and sentenced (one man silently, in place of his brother).

Later events were to reveal many strange aspects which lay beneath the surface of this case. Most of the 'loot' was quickly picked up, remarkably in the North County Louth area where Mr. Frank Aiken had numerous relatives and who, himself was then demoted from Minister for Defence and replaced by Oscar Traynor – a positively safe Dev man.

Time would also reveal that a detective in Dublin Castle who thought at that time that he was directing a one-way flow of information to the I.R.A. was in fact being used by the Government to whisper subversive acts into the unthinking ears of I.R.A. personnel, who naively thought themselves cleverer than the Castle.

The Magazine Fort raid on Christmas Eve 1939 was beautifully timed to provide the State with its Amendment to the Offences Act. To save themselves the embarrassment of deaths by hunger strikes of internees and to establish the Curragh as a concentration camp, the State had another stunt up its sleeve, of which we will tell you in our next issue.

Britain's Whizz Kids

The trial of two Englishmen, Keith Littlejohn and Robert Stockman, in connection with the robbery of £67,000 from the Allied Irish Bank in Grafton St. last October, is currently taking place in Dublin.

Keith, and his brother Kenneth were arrested in London in December, and have spent a few months in Brixton prison awaiting extradition to the 26 counties. In opposing extradition, they stated that they were working for the British Government under orders to infiltrate the IRA.

As defence witnesses they called Lord Carrington (Tory Minister of Defence), Geoffrey Johnson Smith (Tory Parliamentary Under Secretary for Defence), and Lady Onslow, in whose house they had first met Johnson Smith. They also wanted to call two others whose names they would not reveal in open court. It is believed that these two were British Intelligence agents named 'Oliver' and 'Douglas'.

'In the interests of state security', the London judge held the trial in secret session. This is very unusual in British Courts; it only happens to defend 'public morality' in divorce cases.

EVIDENCE

Evidence offered in secret by the Littlejohns suggested that they were working for the Tories on a mission of stirring things up in the South so as to force Lynch to act against the IRA. They were not trained spies, but it would appear, just a couple of sharp operators, looking for ways of making easy money – *robbing banks with British Government protection.*

They claimed that on several occasions they made contact with the British agent 'Douglas', from whom they took their orders. They again met Geoffrey Johnson Smith, the man personally responsible for British expionage. They were told to assassinate leading members of the IRA. They were to blow one of them up, and destroy all traces, while making it appear that he had fled to Canada with IRA funds.

After the introduction of Direct Rule they were ordered by 'Douglas' to petrol bomb police stations in the South so as to start trouble between the IRA and the state. They have privately admitted responsibility for petrol bomb attacks on Castlebellingham and Lough Garda stations. Such are the methods of the peace-loving British Government.

WYMAN

The Littlejohns have also claimed that John Wyman, the Englishman recently released from jail in Dublin after facing charges for receiving documents covered by the Official Secrets Act, was in fact *the* top British intelligence agent in Ireland. It looks like the Irish Government was forced to do a deal with the Tories: to hand over an extremely important spy for the return of two small fry.

LYNCH

The Lynch Government also promised the British that no political charges would be brought against the Littlejohns in Dublin. The brothers will not be charged with being members of the IRA (it is in fact very doubtful that they ever were). Nor will they be charged with working for the British as *agents provocateurs.*

It will be interesting to see if some other charges are taken up, which might appear at first unconnected. In February 1972 the High Court served a summons on a 'clothing firm' for the return of a Ford Transit 22 cwt. van to Bowmaker, the hire-purchase company. The 'clothing firm' was Whizz Kids (Ireland) Ltd., the subsidiary of Whizz Kids Ltd., a British company whose directors are Robert Stockman (on trial with the Littlejohn brothers), Kenneth Austin, (alias Keith Littlejohn), and Max Peter Williams. Whizz Kids was set up in Torquay in September 1970. The Irish subsidiary was set up less than three months later. There is no evidence on the company's files that it ever did any business. It seems likely that it was never intended to.

It also will be interesting to see if we ever hear the full story even about the bank robbery itself. The day after Littlejohn and Stockman first appeared in the Dublin District Court (21 March), only one of the Irish papers, the 'Independent' carried a report. Surprisingly, when you think the trail concerns the biggest robbery of its kind in the history of the state.

The British Ruling Class may seem to some to be genuinely aiming for peace in the North. But the men on trial in Dublin should remind the people of what they really are – robbers, and armed robbers at that.

I wish to have further details of the Socialist Workers' Movement

Send to Socialist Workers' Movement, 30 Strandville Avenue, North Strand, Dublin 3

Name _____

Address _____

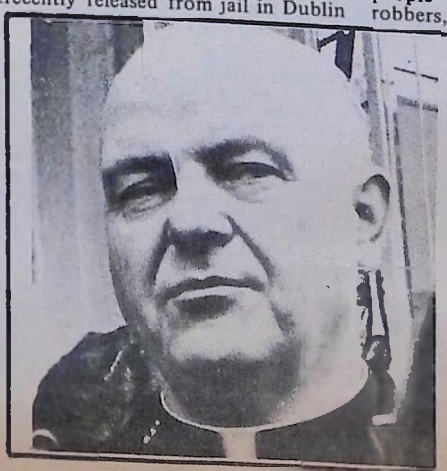
_____

HOW ONE T.D. GOT HIS VOTES

There is a preposterous notion going around areas of North Dublin not very far from Charlie Haughey's consistuency that the bold Charlie can thank his generosity for the big poll he got at the General Election. Some more mathematical minds have calculated that each of the 12,000 votes cost Haughey one pound (£1).

Haughey or one of his henchmen used to go into pubs and not just buy everybody a drink, but stay around for a while and pay for all the drinks bought during that time.

Of course, the people who tell you these stories are also quick to say that they just took the drink and didn't vote for him. But with Haughey getting over 12,000 votes you might wonder.



CONWAY: He put all the authority of his position behind the British Government. Along with Heenan and other bishops, he urged full support for the White Paper both before and after it was published.

Three-hour wait to be told: 'Have another child.'

Every Wednesday morning the Dublin Corporation offices in Jervis Street are open to the public from 9.30 a.m. to 11.30 a.m. But before 9 o'clock the women start arriving and they are often there until after 1 o'clock.

With over 10,000 families looking for houses in Dublin, a mere 2 hours a week is grossly inadequate for attempting to find houses for them — not that there is much chance of that anyway.

From early morning women are arriving with their children, often 3 or 4, to sit for hours in a drafty corridor. The children get restless and start running around and get into all sorts of trouble. Needless to say, there are no facilities for minding the children.

By the time you reach the clerks, who take your name and tell you if you're eligible for a house, your nerves are completely frayed. The children are crying up in your face after hours of boring frustration.

You wait for years to get rehoused from flats like these

GLASS AND BARS

The clerks, 7 in all, sit behind shatterproof glass, reinforced with iron bars. Their first question is how many children you have. If you say two, they will tell you you need three. Now, if you're foolish enough to take them at their word, and go off to have another child and then come back to tell them you have three, they tell you you must have four. And if you had four they would tell you five and so on. I wonder if you had a regiment would they give you a barracks?

It's no wonder they have reinforced windows when half-demented mothers, living in one or two-room flats with three or four children, come to the Corporation to be told they must have more children. As one woman said to a clerk: "You can bloody well have it yourself". Of course you never see a bloody man sitting in the place!

If they do offer you a place, it would probably be in Ballymun or Finglas or the like. It's not that anyone would object to living in any of the estates but it's the rent they charge. The rents range from £5 to £7 and often up to £8 or £9 per week. We can blame the Aontacht Eireann leader, Mr. Kevin Boland, who drew up the infamous 1966 Housing Act.

We should demand that the Corporation provide proper facilities, like a nursery for the children, proper waiting rooms, and demand also an end to the 1966 Housing Act.

A GRIM STORY

Waterford on 27th March has a grim story to tell:

A nine-month old baby girl died tragically when fire ravaged the upstairs room of a Corporation house where her parents and two-year old brother lived. The house belongs to an elderly woman who had agreed to let the young couple live upstairs while they waited for a Corporation house of their own.

The couple have been married for over two years and every week since then one of them has gone to the Housing Department of Waterford Corporation to plead for a house. The fire-place in one of the upstairs rooms was not used much, perhaps once a week, due mainly to its deplorable condition. When the fire was lit smoke could be seen coming out through the cracks in the wall above it.

REPAIR

The couple got fed up with asking the Corporation to repair it. On the day before the fire occurred a Corporation inspector had assured the young wife that there was nothing wrong with the fire-place. With this assurance the girl lit the fire and left the baby in a pram while she went downstairs for a few minutes. She carried her two-year-old son with her. A short while later she smelled smoke and rushed upstairs to try to save the child. It was too late — by the time she reached it the baby was dead.

Black smoke spread through the house and the room was blazing: within half-an-hour the wooden floor had collapsed and the couple's new furniture and personal belongings had all been destroyed.

In a cynical attempt to hide their guilty conscience the Corporation have now provided the couple with a new house. Waterford Corporation must have the worst housing record in Ireland, for in 1972 NOT ONE house was issued despite a waiting list of thousands.

STIFLING DISCONTENT

Last month the Waterford Community Service Centre held a press conference at which it released plans for the establishment of community centres in the city. The Community Service Centre has been in existence for the last four years and its broad aim is to fight against poverty, which it claims, exists at all levels of society — among the poor, the rich and the middle class!

The centre is run by the clergy and local voluntary bodies such as St. Vincent de Paul, Legion of Mary, the Mentally Handicapped Childrens Association, etc. and is supported mainly by subscriptions from local industry and businessmen. At the press conference it announced plans for the establishment of seven community centres at a cost of £150,000. They will take five years to build and will afterwards be maintained at a cost of £20,000 per year.

Each centre will have a social worker and the activities and development of the centres will be co-ordinated by two "community development officers".

It is planned that there will be children's play centres, youth clubs, etc. there will be lectures and 'advice' on such problems as alcoholism and delinquency. Money for the project will come in grants from the local authority and other statutory bodies, and the remainder will be collected from industries and professional groupings (e.g. the clergy, the medical profession, etc). Mr. Con Dooley a director of Waterford Glass Ltd., was present at the press conference and presented a cheque for £500 to the fund.

One of the more prominent people in the Community Service Centre, apart, that is, from the Church of Ireland and Catholic bishops, is Mr. Sean Ryan, a member of the national executive of Fianna Fail!

"The new community centres will be run by local community and voluntary organizations operating in each particular area". This remark by the Waterford Community Service Centre has caused a lot of resentment among many people who are involved in tenant and community associations This is because these associations were in no way consulted about these plans. Waterford Tenants Association are particularly enraged about it, since they say that they should be responsible for community centres being built in the first place.

The secretary of Waterford Tenants Association M. O'Connor, told THE WORKER: "As a result of the settlement terms of the 46 week rent strike in 1970, the Corporation has agreed to allocate £25,000 for the building of these community centres in the city". Plans for these centres, especially in St. John's Park, are well advanced. "What we object to, he said, "is the Community Service Centre announcing their plans, saying the tenants' associations are to run these centres and not so much as a word with us before hand. Furthermore, where is all the money for these centres going to come from?"

Mr. O'Connor said he did not think that the money would come from employers but that it was the ordinary working class tenant who would subsidize the community centres. "I'm not saying I agree with that: I think the centres should be provided free by the Corporation."

"Community development" is one of the "in things" at the moment. But it is no more than a means to incorporate working class discontent and activity into the system. It manipulates and confuses people, and prevents them for using their collective strength to organize and do things for themselves: things such as rent strikes, making their own demands for recreational activities, etc. This potential can only be fully developed under socialism.

Tenants in Waterford must demand control of the community centres and run them in the interests of the tenants themselves, free from the outside control of the clergy and the local bosses. Pressure through the combined strength of the tenant and the local trade union movement could be applied on the state and local authorities to provide the centres at no extra cost to the tenants.

Ruaidhri Roberts, General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions

TRADE UNION SMOKESCREEN ON SECTARIANISM

The Trade Unions in the North have always been praised by 'responsible' people for 'keeping politics off the shop floor', and preventing sectarian unrest in industry. But what they have really done over the last fifty years has been to capitulate to sectarianism by refusing to confront the Orange bosses and their henchmen in the unions. The refusal to bring politics into the factories has given the Unionists a field day in keeping the working class divided. In the name of 'peace' they have ensured that the status quo has gone unchallenged. The rising number of trade unionists killed in sectarian assassinations finally forced them to do something.

MEETINGS

After a series of meetings sponsored by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, and then by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions itself, a committee was appointed (not elected) to lead the campaign against sectarianism. The committee is made up of businessmen priests and ministers, as well as trade unionists. Invitations to the conference, at which the committee was appointed, were sent to Women Together, a reactionary, pro-imperialist groups of middle-class women the Churches Industrial Council, a bosses' front hiding behind a Christian title; the Confederation of British Industry, representatives of the British ruling class who have thrived on sectarian divisions for centuries; local employers' associations, who have also encouraged sectarian divisions so as to increase their stranglehold over the working class; the pro-imperialist, middle class Alliance Party; the SDLP, whose spokesman, John Hume, favours the imprisonment of unofficial strikers; and those two well known non-sectarian peace loving parties, the Unionists and the British Tories!

Throughout the history of the Northern State the union bosses have refused to take a stand against British imperialism in Ireland, although this is what lies at the bottom of the sectarian divisions. Instead, they have tried to be all things to all men. ICTU has criticised republican and loyalist violence equally, thus equating an anti-imperialist struggle with acts which are purely sectarian and positively reactionary. Only by accepting the justice of the anti-imperialist struggle can they have any right to criticise the tactics used (which have often been sectarian). They announce those who are fighting against imperialism in their entirety, thus coming down clearly on the side of imperialism, and therefore sectarianism.

By demanding that the British TUC General Council be given a voice in the drawing up of the White Paper on the future of Northern Ireland, ICTU was again coming down on the side of imperialism, by recognising Britain's 'right' to decide our future.

The illusions that the union bureaucrats are sowing about the ability of ruling class politicians, frustrated liberals, and "men of the cloth", to help in overcoming sectarianism must be fought against. These are the very people who are responsible for sectarianism; they are the people who benefit from it most, and who have neither the ability nor the real desire to see it ended.

No doubt most ordinary trade unionists want to see an end to the sectarian killings, and are prepared to support almost anything that seems to be doing something about them. But the type of policies being pursued by the union leaders will not end sectarianism, even in the short term. What's more the policies of class collaboration makes the long-term solution even more long term than it need be. The answer to the sectarian divisions lies in the common struggle of rank and file workers on the shop floor against the bosses and the compromisers, not in forming alliances with them.

INCAPABLE

The union leadership has proved itself incapable of fighting against unemployment, low wages, bad conditions and soaring redundancies, because they know that to do so effectively is to challenge capitalism as a whole, and that they will not do. Yet ultimately these are the things which have made it possible for the bosses to divide the working class, by offering marginally better living standards to those who would vote Unionist. In these conditions, the sectarians will only be isolated by militant working class action around matters of common concern to all workers, and not by joining with the bosses to pass platitudinous resolutions condemning violence, in pursuit of a 'peace' they will never bring.

The union leader/ruling class alliance goes by the name of Citizens United for Reconciliation and Equality (C.U.R.E.), don't be fooled by the grandiose name. Unless rank-and-file trade unionists force their unions to withdraw, this ultimately reactionary body will serve to bind the working class more tightly to the bosses and the imperialist overlords.

MIKE MILLER

Reviews

AMERICAN UNDERGROUND

The sub-title of this book, 'The Underground Press and its context: Notes on a cultural revolution', gives a clearer idea of its nature. Roger Lewis, the author, deals with a host of subjects – womens liberation, sexism, dope, Vietnam, underground papers, the Left and urban guerillas. A chapter on Britain ("the British situation is nowhere as extreme as that of the United States, with the notable exception of Northern Ireland . . .") is also included.

Many of the groups and publications the book deals with hold that the white working class is generally being co-opted into the system in much the same way that Protestants are co-opted in the North. They look instead to the underprivileged, Chicanos (Mexican labourers), Puerto Ricans, blacks, Indians, women, to bring change. 'The white working class has been so politically backward in the United States that many militants have given up hope in it altogether. This kind of defeatism ultimately would mean the acceptance of racial war in which white freaks and radicals . . . go down with blacks and other minority groups".

The view of the white working class may seem surprising to those who recall the tradition of the 'Wobblies' (Industrial Workers of the World). Indeed it is being called into question today. The increased militancy in the unions – see for example the article in last month's WORKER about the miners' union – seems to show the change that is coming, and the changes for the future. Some groups such as 'Rising Up Angry' have had some success working in white working-class communities.

The book also deals with the Weathermen, a guerilla group operating as they say, against the 'Amerikkan Empire from within'. They are trained in 'strategic' bombings, prison breaks, karate and street fighting.

Lewis ends one chapter with this summary of the various organisations and publications: "The movement, in Marxist terms, is at a pre-party stage. There has been an encouraging synthesis if the best in libertarianism and Marxist thought . . people cannot be organised from above, they have to organise themselves in struggle. Rosa Luxemburg seemed clearest about this, as did the anarchist revolutionaries in Spain".

P. STEPHENS

Roger Lewis: Outlaws of America
Penguin Books

FRIEL'S PLAY UNEVEN

Brian Friel's play, 'Freedom of the City', is still running at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin. THE WORKER was able to ask somebody to review it – only because they were invited by somebody else who could afford to pay the exorbitant admission prices.

You come away from Brian Friel's 'Freedom of the City' feeling cheated you know he could have done a much better job with the material he had. He has thought up a promising plot; three people looking for cover after a Civil Right's march in Derry has been broken up by CS gas and rubber bullets, accidentally stray into the Guildhall. When they realise where they are – in the Mayor's parlour, no less – they proceed to make themselves at home. Most of the humour in the play arises from this situation. Three working-class people enjoy the luxuries of Derry's greatest symbol of Unionist domination, trying on the Mayor's robes – ("would' nt that make a lovely tablecloth") – and drinking his sherry.

Friel's characterisation has some good points. The woman of the trio Lily, lives in a tenement with her invalid husband and eleven children, but has managed to keep a sharp sense of humour. She appreciates the ridiculousness of the situation and has a healthy disrespect for the sanctity of the chamber. But Michael Hegarty, presented as a Civil Right's supporter who wants everything to appear respectable and decent, is a pain in the neck. He's also a bit unbelievable -- it would be hard to find a working class man in Derry holding such views now. Perhaps one of the main drawbacks in writing a play about a town which has such a quickly changing political situation is that it will easily appear dated.

TIMELESS

The play, looked at from another angle, presents a timeless situation; the oppression of the poor by the system. We know from the beginning of the play that the three are going to die, shot by the British Army as supposed gunmen. This knowledge lends a poignancy to their last words and actions, and builds the basis of the play's emotional drama. But in spite of the tragedy which we are constantly expecting, the play lacks emotional depth. Friel indulges in sentimental scenes; Lily, for example, reveals that she marches for her mongol child, rather than from any political motivation. This embarrasses the audience instead of moving it. The tragic situation is also deflated by the scene in which the three victims tell the audience of their last moment alive, and their reactions to their own deaths. These three working-class people suddenly become lyrical and poetic in speech; Friel in this way successfully spoils characters' credibility, and the realism of their former speech and reactions. On the whole there is an unhappy mixture of "realist" technique and more "symbolic" portrayal.

UNDERMINE

The playwright tends to undermine his own characters, but he does communicate a sense of their helplessness – they will die the innocent victims of a system which made sure that their lives were miserable. Skinner is the third central character, and perhaps the most interesting; he cannot channel his hatred of the system into any positive action, but can only express it by being destructive. But he is perceptive; he realises that they will probably be murdered, and makes the point that the people must be as well organised and as ruthless as their suppressors before they can succeed in overthrowing them.

That seemed to be the best point that the play made; it didn't have the tragic effect that might have been expected because Friel slipped into mawkishness and inconsistencies. But at least it gave some small insight into what it's like to be in the hands of the tender mercies of the British Army.

G.M.

Snooping about

A Dublin group of supermarkets employs two maintenance men to do odd repairing jobs. Recently, the company took a contract to have these two men paint another company's store. While they were working on the job, a full-time official of the Painter's Union (Irish National Painters and Decorators Trade Union) arrive on the scene to tell them that out-of-work painters were asking if these men had a union card. They had not, but the union official was told to "fuck off".

He returned again on another occasion to suggest that the two men would not attract so much attention if they wore overalls. Then nobody would complain. He didn't get an enthusiastic reception for that suggestion either.

Finally, one of the men found an old card which was sixteen years in arrears! The union official's problem of an over-alert membership was solved: the out-of-work painters stayed out of work; and the non-union men continued with their job.

Only nine people out of every 100 between the ages of 19 and 24 go to university in Ireland. About 1% (one in a hundred) of students come from working class homes. The reason is simple. To go to university you must have a rich father paying the £100 fee or be an especially intelligent worker willing to live on a £400 per year grant (minus fees).

THE WORKER can now exclusively reveal that things are going to get tougher for working class people to get to university in Galway. Fees are going up next year by 15 per cent. Last year, they went up 50 per cent In some faculties, like Agriculture they have doubled over the past three years.

Students must organise against this increase. After the holidays they must refuse to pay it, and seek the support of other groups, especially the trade unions, in fighting it.

SOLDIER is the official British Army magazine. In an article on the work of the Parachute Regiment in Northern Ireland, the March issue reports the words of Battery Commander, Major John Proctor: "It's routine work hour in, hour out", But, SOLDIER says, "the battery has had its successes to relieve the monotony with the capture of IRA men including two company commanders and an explosives officer".

The army also has fun, of course, 'to relieve the monotony', after they capture their prisoners.

PROFILE magazine tells us that when one of the 'Terrible Triplets' (Charlie Haughey, Brian Lenihan, and the late Donogh O'Malley) was arrested for drunken driving, and when this diligent officer insisted on prosecuting him, the other two saw to it that he did not remain long a policeman.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The SOCIALISTS WORKERS' MOVEMENT is a revolutionary workers' movement, whose aim is the organisation of the working class in the struggle for power and the transformation of the existing social order. All its activities, its methods and its internal organisation are subordinated to this and are designed to serve this purpose.

Capitalism is a system based on production for profit, not for human need. This system is driven by the necessity to accumulate profit, which means that capitalists compete with one another, both nationally and internationally.

The capitalist class is a ruling class whose ownership and control of the means of production is based on the exploitation of the working class. Thus, a small minority rules society. In Ireland, 9 per cent of the population owns 90 per cent of the wealth.

The contradictions betwen competing capitalists, produce war, poverty and crisis. The struggle between the classes will produce the overthrow of capitalist society.

Capitalism needs the working class; the working class does not need capitalism. Present day capitalism is entering a period of stagnation and crisis; it attempts to solve its problems at the expense of working-class living standards and democratic rights.

This system is international: in the drive to expand it must extend its power over the whole world. 250 companies dominate the international economy. The search for markets and materials has led to imperialism — the brutal oppression of the peoples of two-thirds of the world and the effective strangling of those peoples' attempts to develop their societies.

Imperialism

International capitalism operates in Ireland through British imperialism's military, economic and political domination of the whole country. Britain maintains a standing army in the North. British imperialism has divided the working class on sectarian lines. British investments throughout Ireland equal 50 per cent of all investment in manufacturing and commerce. The Dublin and Stormont governments are subservient to the dictates of the international system and thus to its agent, Westminster.

Imperialism dominates Ireland *as a whole:* it treats Ireland as a unity. The struggle to defeat imperialism, therefore, must be fought in a united way throughout the 32 counties. This involves the overthrow of the Orange-Unionist state in the North and of the Green-Tory state in the South.

Irish capitalism, Green and Orange, is wholly integrated into the world system. Because of this, the mere unification of Ireland, or the removal of British troops, cannot in themselves mean the defeat of imperialism in Ireland. There is no independent republic this side of the Workers' Republic. Only by the uniting of the working class can power be taken from the Orange and Green ruling class minorities and victory be won over imperialism.

It is the Irish working class and small farmers who bear the load of this imperialist domination. The contrast between Ireland, a neo-colony, and the Western capitalist countries is especially glaring:

North and South:

—120,000 unemployed—the highest rate of unemployment in Europe;
—60,000 redundancies expected in the next four years;
—100,000 unfit houses and the worst housing record in Europe;
—£9 per week net average income per rural household—the third lowest in Europe;
—1,000 political prisoners.

The working class has the capacity to end exploitation and oppression. In Ireland North and South the working class is now the predominant social class numerically and in terms of potential strength. The class has achieved a new self-confidence and militancy; this needs political co-ordination. Independent working class action can create a society based on production for human need, democratically controlled by the majority. By organising at the point of production and in the localities the workers can lead a struggle to the Workers' Republic. This would not mean merely a State takeover of the means of production, but *workers' control* of all aspects of society, local and national. Such a society does not exist in any country today.

The Socialist Workers' Movement stands for the nationalisation of banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation. To this end we actively engage in the day-to-day struggles of workers and small farmers and seek to build a mass working-class party which can lead the struggle to build socialism in Ireland as part of the struggle for international socialism. A Workers' Republic cannot survive without the aid of the British and Continental working classes and the international extension of the revolutionary fight.

The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes the E.E.C. to which the only alternative is socialism in Ireland, as part of a socialist Europe. The Socialist Workers' Movement opposes N.A.T.O. and all other international military alliances. We are independent of Washington, Moscow and Peking. We support all anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world.

Workers struggles

The Socialist Workers' Movement fights for:—

—full support for workers and small farmers in struggle;
—defence of the living standards of workers and small farmers;
—rank-and-file control and socialist leadership of the trade unions;
—the election of all trade union officials, subject to recall;
—all strikes to be declared official if supported by the majority of the workers concerned;
—a minimum wage of at least £30 for a 35-hour week;
—equal pay for women;
—100 per cent trade unionism;
—opposition to all anti-trade union legislation;
—opposition to all incomes policies under capitalism;
—against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay;
—repeal of all repressive legislation—e.g. Special Powers Act and Offences Against the State Act;
—extension of the Civil Resistance Campaign in the Six Counties;
—release of all political prisoners;
—evacuation of British troops from Ireland;
—defence of working class areas against military and sectarian attacks;
—freedom of worship for all religious groupings;
—total separation of Church and State;
—an end to clerical control of education;
—a secular and comprehensive education system controlled by teachers, pupils and parents;
—raising of school-leaving age to 18;
—free education to the highest level;
—adult wages and adult rights for workers at 18;
—free and comprehensive health service;
—end to means-tested benefits;
—minimum wage for the unemployed and pensioners;
—one family—one house;
—emergency housing programme and expropriation of all building land;
—tenants' control of estates, including rents;
—full social equality for women;
—free contraceptive facilities with full medical services;
—24-hour nurseries;
—income for small farmers and agricultural labourers on parity with industrial rates;
—division of large estates under control of local farmers;
—the building of a genuine co-operative movement among farmers and fishermen;
—nationalisation of hunting and fishing rights.

The SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT is a democratic organisation open to all those who accept its principles and objectives, who work in one of the units of the movement, agree to recognise its discipline and pay dues.

"Internationalism; to some people this is the great bug-aboo which frightens them off from socialism" (James Connolly). The struggle for a Workers' Republic in Ireland is inseparable from the international struggle against capitalism. The Socialist Workers' Movement fights to build a mass party of the working class as part of a revolutionary international of working class parties.

British T.U. leaders give up fight

International News

At the Special Conference called by the British Trades Union Congress on 5th March, it was surprisingly – Joe Gormley, the right-wing President of the miners' union (N.U.M.) who led the 'militant' pressure for industrial action against the pay freeze. That Conference agreed to a one-day stoppage throughout industry, and the T.U.C. Executive later decided that it should take place on 1st May.

At the beginning of April, following the miners' vote on industrial action, Joe Gormley announced that his union would not even take part in the 1st of May stoppage.

Joe Gormley

Within one week Hugh Scanlon, general secretary of the Engineering Union (A.U.E.W.) made two speeches on the pay freeze. In the first, he urged peace, and a settlement with the government. In the second, he urged greater support for the striking hospital workers, collections in factories, solidarity action, etc.

This sort of indecision has been typical of the British trade union leaders in the fight against the pay freeze. The freeze itself entered a new phase on 1st April, when laws came into effect which will prohibit strike action for claims above the 'ceiling' of £1 + 4 per cent.

Scanlon's call for support for the hospital workers was fine – except that it was several weeks too late. Throughout Britain, hospital workers have been trickling back to work, hounded by the press, and often left in isolation by their leaders. True, there were magnivicant examples of solidarity, when workers from other industries and services joined hospital workers on pickets and in demonstrations. There was support too, when a number of hospital workers picketing a London hospital were 'lifted' by the police. But it was not enough.

The gasmen, too, were isolated. The press told lurid stories of people dying of the cold (which they do in any case, strike or no strike – but only because of poverty) in order to break their fighting spirit. Eventually the gasmen settled for an increase within the strict boundaries of the government's freeze.

It has not all been defeat, however. A whole number of lower-paid workers, and traditionally non-militant workers, have taken action, and have learned from it. It is certain that the local organisations of hospital workers and gas workers have been strengthened in many cases. Unofficial bulletins are being published by some of them (for instance, 'Flying Picket', published by porters, cleaners, etc., at the big St. Georges Hospital in London).

In the crucial week of opposition to Phase 2, however – the first week in April, the fight seemed to be lagging. The miners held the key; they led the resistance before in 1972. This time they chose not to, although they face many problems in the coal-fields, and did not improve their pay very much after last year's strike.

London dockers came out on strike for a £5-a-week rise on Monday, 2nd April. They have withdrawn from a clause in a 30-month-old productivity agreement which allowed the employers move men around the docks and decide the size of gangs. The £5 increase would crash through Heath's pay freeze, which would only allow for a £2.60 increase. Union leaders have recommended that the men settle for this offer.

The actions of the trade union leaders in refusing to link up the different sections of workers in struggle and in calling only for limited action on 1st May (affiliated unions are only 'invited' to take part; they need only hold token stoppages), seems designed to undermine the fight against the pay freeze. While the regulations introduced by the Tory government have loopholes for profits and prices to rise, there are no such loopholes for wage rises – only imprisonment for those who organise action to go beyond the government's limits.

In the face of enormous attacks on workers' living standards and democratic rights, the union leaders seem unwilling to do anything about it. Of course, they do have the power, but they are unwilling to use it. They could link up the workers in struggle. They could organise effective national action. But, as with the chances presented by last year's miners' and dockers' strikes, they have thrown them away.

They prefer to hold on to their positions on the edge of the state machine. They prefer to talk peace rather than war, although that's the language the employers and the government are talking. The positive thing that the actions of the last couple of months should see is the growth of unofficial militant organisations within the trade union movement which can challenge the bureaucrats at the top, and which can by-pass them where at all possible.

B. TRENCH

U.S.Miners

Further to last month's report in THE WORKER on the success of the Miners for Democracy campaign in the American miners' union. On 27 March, in Erie, Pennsylvania, William J. Prater, a forme organiser with the United Mine Workers Union was found guilty on charges of murdering Joseph Yablonski, a union reformer, his wife and daughter, in 1969.

We reported that 'it seems quite clear that Boyle (union president at the time) himself was very much involved.' The state prosecutor told the Erie court that Boyle had ordered the killing.

Canada

In May and June of last year, factories, mines and shops throughout the French-Canadian province of Quebec were brought to a standstill by a general strike. THE WORKER carried an exclusive eye-witness report on these events.

The strike action was sparked off by the jailing of three union leaders who had been involved in the strike by public service employees earlier in the year. The three leaders were actually sentenced on 8th May 1972. Their prison term began in February of this year.

Now the unions are again putting pressure on the government of Liberal Prime Minister, Bourassa, demanding the release of the union leaders. At the same time, some American and English-Canadian businesses are getting upset about the insecurity of their interests in Quebec. Things could start to hum again in Quebec before long.

FRANCE : ANOTHER HOT SUMMER

On Monday, 3rd April, 100,000 university and secondary school students – their ranks swelled by sympathetic workers – marched through Paris in a protest against the 'Debre Law'. That law reduces the length of military service from 18 months to 12 months, but requires all students to do their military service before beginning university studies. Previously it was possible to get a 'd ferment'.

University students were also protesting against a new general diploma which, they say, discriminates against working class students. Protests involving up to 300,000 other students and workers took place in over 200 towns throughout France.

Slogans on the marches included "The Spring will be hot" – a reference to the hot summer of 1968 when a general strike of 10 million workers temporarily crippled French Industry and raised the prospect of worker's power; "We will not wait for '76' – a reference to the presidential election due to take place in that year; and finally, "Solidarity with Renault on strike".

PNEUMONIA

It has been said that 'when Renault sneezes, France catches pneumonia'. The Renault dispute led to 7,000 workers being locked out at the Billancourt plant near Paris at the end of March. The dispute is over the conditions of immigrant workers – mainly North Africans, Spaniards, and Portuguese – who are 60 per cent of the half-million workers employed by the state-run company.

373 of these immigrant workers at the Billancourt plant have demanded the upgrading of status and pay, and a slowing down of the inhuman speed of the production line. At the beginning of April they rejected proposals put to them by the Communist-led Confederation Generale du Travail (C.G.T.), and their determination has won sympathy and solidarity from other Renault workers.

The Communists have been caught hopping on both the student and immigrant worker issues by the activity and strength of the revolutionary groups. During the election they played down the conscription question, actually abstaining on the vote in the National Assembly. Their school students' group (U.N.C.A.L.) denounced the student mobilisation as opportunist. They fell in quickly enough, however, when its success became clear.

Does the present situation contain the seeds of another May-June 1968? It is impossible to predict the outcome. French society is certainly very unstable, and the elections have not changed that. Many industries face the re-negotiation of rates during the next six months.

GENERAL STRIKE

The students were partly responsible for sparking off the General Strike in 1968. The fact that many young workers are joining in the student demonstrations in recent weeks creates opportunities for another exchange of ideas and experience. Today, however, the revolutionary organisations are in a much stronger and more organised position than in 1968 to provide leadership.

Therefore it is strange to find one of the revolutionary organisations the Ligue Communiste, towing behind the reformists with a demand for the continuation of deferments of military service, rather than a call (put forward by Lutte Ouvriere, for instance) for the abolition of military services.

P.G.

S.Africa

As the last issue of THE WORKER came out, the wave of strikes in South Africa seemed to have subsided. But since then a number of other factories and mines have erupted.

In the most fantastic break-through black workers in South Africa haveever made, several firms have been forced to give 20 per cent or 25 per cent wage increases.

Troops have had to be used to keep South Africa's only aluminium smelter going. The 700 black workers have struck there for higher wages, refusing settlement terms offered by the management.

The government has been forced to respond. One Minister warned that 'while exploitation was to be deplored, unbridled wage demands could not be met'. That is, they actually admit there is exploitation.

The way is open for even greater victories for South African workers.

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WATERFORD: DOUGLAS WORKERS MUST GET SUPPORT

Some bosses just don't want to learn. When the 16 young workers at Douglas Engineering Ltd. on the Waterford Industrial Estate returned to work towards the end of February there seemed to be a good chance that they would get some satisfaction on their demands. They had been out for the right to organise on the job, for a bonus scheme, canteen facilities, protective clothing, and several other things.

Since their return to work (see the last issue of THE WORKER), nothing has changed, however. If anything, it has got worse. The three scabs who worked throughout the strike, and the boss's three sons have collaborated to make things impossible for the other lads.

While the workers who were out on strike take their break at a table on the factory floor, the scabs and Douglas's sons are in the managers' offices. They spend most of the day running back and forth lodging complaints about the others. At the end of March the scabs eventually signed statements to the Gardai that they were being intimidated by the others!

Douglas's intention is clear: to terrorise the young workers who formed the union and who have led the claims for better pay and conditions. The response to the actual demands was that protective clothing was 'too dear'.

On Thursday, 29th March, the workers staged an unofficial sit-in strike and looked for union support. At first, their union, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union were reluctant to give support. But when the management locked the men out, the dispute was made official.

SUPPORT

For the second time in two months the young Douglas workers are on the street. This time they must get all the support that can be mobilised on the Industrial Estate, and in other Waterford factories. For all the pressure that other local employers have obviously been putting on Douglas, it is clear that he will not concede the demands without being forced to. If he does not do so then, he must be forced out; if Douglas is allowed to go on brow-beating young workers, it will be a defeat for all Waterford workers.

The Irish Transport Union must take action against those members (the three scabs) who have so clearly tried to break the union organisation on the job. The Branch Secretary has rightly insisted that he cannot negotiate with the management unless he has the shop-steward with him. Douglas has already been forced to accept this. A precedent has been established that the workers directly involved in a dispute are also directly involved in the negotiations.

Shop-stewards on the Industrial Estate and in the town must organise financial support for the Douglas workers, and a mass meeting at the Douglas factory. Douglas must be told loudly and clearly that he is not just taking on 16 young workers, but the whole strength of the Waterford working class.

BELFAST: BUS MERGER PUT OFF

The proposed merger between Belfast Corporation buses and Ulsterbus (see last month's WORKER) has been postponed for a while at least. The British Government stepped in after negotiations between Union representative and the Ulsterbus management failed to arrive at a settlement in time for the merger date. The busmen rejected the merger under the present terms. The Government-owned N.I. Transport Holding Company has taken direct responsibility for the Corporation buses while the negotiations with Ulsterbus continue.

The problem arose when Ulsterbus boss, Werner Heubeck, attempted to put over a deal which would involve 400 redundancies, longer hours, less pay, and withdrawal of sick pay and pension schemes for the Corporation bus men. At present the Corporation workers get £3 a week more than their Ulsterbus counterparts, and they work ten hours less a week. Heubeck has only managed to make Ulsterbus profitable because of the appalling wages and long hours of 'his' workers; His mission is to make the Corporation buses run for a profit too. That will mean a massive attack on the workers, as his take-over bid shows.

The union officials have taken a generally soft line on the redundancies. They say there is little they can do except negotiate 'better' handshakes, and push for retraining schemes. They have certainly done little up to now to fight for jobs: the number of drivers and conductors has already fallen from 2,500 to 850 in the recent past.

The unions have refused to accept the takeover until better terms for wages, hours, and conditions are negotiated. But since Heubeck isn't going to meet their claim in full, they will be forced to compromise unless they put up a serious fight, which may even involve preventing the takeover with industrial action. Compromising in the present conditions could only mean cuts in the living standards for the Corporation busmen.

PRESSURE

To make sure that the Union leaders do put up a serious fight, it is essential that the rank and file workers are organised now to pressurise their leaders. Links should be built with the Ulsterbus workers to fight for parity, at the highest existing rates enjoyed by Corporation men.

The unions must refuse to accept redundancy notices, and must fight for work sharing with no loss of pay to ensure that no one is sacked. The struggle for £30 for a 35-hour week will create even more jobs on the buses. Unless Heubeck can guarantee no redundancies; no loss of earnings; no increase in hours worked; no loss of sick pay and pension schemes, the Unions must fight to ensure that this merger does not take place.

SHIPYARD WORKERS PUSHED AROUND

Iver Hoppe, the one-man dictator of the Belfast shipyards of Harland and Wolff threatened to sack 2,500 workers at the beginning of April. He was demanding that they resume normal working and give up their eight-week go-slow.

Hoppe promised substantial increases in bonus payments, on the condition that productivity goes up. The increase would be spread over a 12-month period from last summer. The men took the action because the bonuses had not been paid, although productivity has soared with last year's steel 'through-put' 50 per cent up on the year before.

The shop stewards are threatening all-out strike action, and the mood in the yards is very angry indeed. Hoppe is despised for his bullying behaviour.

Not surprisingly, none of the loyalist parties or groups has come out in support of the men. Craig, who claims to be their best friend and leader, is totally silent, privately hoping the men will be smashed.

Protestant workers' loyalty to British and Orange rule will not defend them against the savage attacks of the boss class, whose only loyalty is to their profits.

John Sisk seems to get most of those well publicised building contracts — like the Cork Regional Hospital and the Central Bank. The company is certainly one of the most profitable building enterprises in these islands. How profitable, is a well-guarded secret — like the well-guarded secret about the company's plans for the joinery shop at their Naas Road, Dublin, premises.

The company have let some wood-machinists go over several weeks. Others have been transferred from the yard to the site. Sisk is aiming to cut the work-force of 90 in the joinery shop by half when he moves to new premises at Tallaght.

Sisk is also reported to have plans to import joinery work from Europe for some contracts. The workers must demand that the company makes its plans quite clear, and insist that there are NO REDUNDANCIES.

DUBLIN: PARITY AND COMPENSATION CLAIM WON

On Tuesday, 27th March, four machinists were locked out at Morgan McMahon's timber yard at Bond Road, near the Dublin docks. On the previous day, they had staged a 'sit-in strike' in support of a demand for parity with machinists in the nearby Heiton McFerran yard.

For three months, the machinists had been demanding a bonus system like the one in Heiton McFerran. The basis for their claim was the fact that the two companies were amalgamated. The Management of Morgan McMahon on occasions denied there were any links with Heiton's, and on other occasions they admitted it.

We were able to supply information that the companies were both 100 per cent owned by Heiton Holdings, and that Morgan McMahon's made a big contribution to Heiton's profits. This helped the four workers get the support of the 30 general workers in the yard, and of the Heiton McFerran workers.

Ambrose Byrne, manager of Morgan McMahon's was caught by the workers trying to change delivery documents for timber cargoes from 'MOrgan McMahon' to 'Heiton McFerran'. Two cargoes destined for McMahon's were held up at the Quay side, with the support of the dockers work was brought to a halt in both the McMahon and Heiton yards.

When the merger between the two companies had first been mooted back in 1968, the general workers had demanded £250 compensation for inconvenience. At that time they were told that the merger was off, because of their claim. Now that they had definite information that the financial merger had taken place, they put in the demand again.

Relations between the machinists and the general workers improved greatly. However, the machinists were not getting the support of their union, the Irish Society of Woodcutting Machinists. The awful fear of 'unofficial action' meant that the union would not support them. The general workers' union, the Marine Port, met with FUE representatives. On Wednesday, 4th April, the employers agreed to the machinists' parity claim (giving the men an average of £5 increase), and on Thursday, they told the general workers that they would pay £160 compensation money.

DEDUCTIONS

This was a good deal less than the men had demanded. With deductions for tax, and the effects of differential rents, etc., it would be something like £100. There was another snag: everybody in the two yards was to get this money — except the four machinists who had led the way in the first place!

The employers were obviously afraid of the unity that had been built up between the two sections and were trying to split them. They were further trying to split McMahon and Heiton workers by paying wages to the Heiton workers for the week when no work was done — but not paying the McMahon workers.

The company has more or less admitted that it deceived the workers about the links with Heiton McFerran. They could be forced to concede the full claim and to pay the week's wages that were lost. The I.S.W.M. did come round to recognising that the parity demand of their members was justified, but still would not pay strike benefit for that week! After all, the action was unofficial ("even though we did give you moral support, lads . . . ").

The companies must not succeed in their efforts to divide the workers. The men in the timber yards must now build an effective joint committee for the two companies, and then extend it to all the more-than-600 workers throughout the Heiton group.

GALWAY: HANLEY'S IGNORE UNION

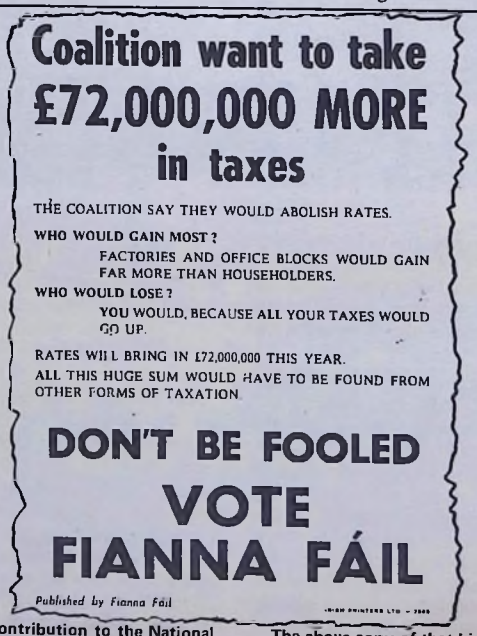
Hanley's engineering work in Claregalway gives a good example of the importance of having a union. Wages are not bad by Galway standards — you start at about £23 and rise to maybe 17 shillings an hour if you are lucky. But conditions at the factory are terrible.

There is no ventillation — imagine a factory without ventillation. The factory is dirty, everything is thrown around. Some workers at the factory have seen that conditions are just as important as wages. They joined the A.U.E.W. in the hope of improving things.

For two years, Hanley's have tried to pretend the union does not exist. They have never replied to letters from the union, and refused to meet union representatives with the result that the union members at the factory had to keep their union cards secret.

If the management do know who is the union they use a simple divisive tactic to try to make him regret it. The bosses pay each worker differently — some get 17 bob an hour, some get 15. There is often no reason for the difference other than the fact that one is in a union while the other is not.

Workers at the factory must fight for 100 per cent trade unionism. It is the only way to end the discrimination.



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GALWAY CRYSTAL

Rising prices and the lack of decent wages are now forcing more and more young mothers and housewives to go out and look for work. They are easy prey for victimisation and super-exploitation.

There was an example of this in the Galway Crystal glass factory some time ago. A young woman was employed in the factory making glass. She was pregnant. The job she had allowed her to sit down for most of the day. One day, she was suddenly asked to change jobs, without any notice. There was no obvious need for this as there was plenty of work still making glass.

The new job meant that she had to stand up in cold, damp conditions washing bottles. She was given the choice of either accepting it, or looking for work elsewhere. She had to refuse the 'offer'.

It is clear that the management saw that she could not serve the factory in the long term and they were willing to test her endurance. Profit and 'efficiency' make no allowance for 'personal' problems and differences, not even pregnancy.